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THE LAND OF MORGAN.

PART III.

THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER.

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The ages of Earl William's daughters at the time of his death are not on record, but they certainly were very young. Dugdale, following Walsingham, says that the Earl, to prevent the division of the heritage, adopted as his heir, at Windsor in 1176, the King's second son, John; but this must have been with the understanding that he was to marry one of the coheirs. Madox (*Bar. Angl.*, p. 201) says that on the Earl's death the Honour of Gloucester, in which he evidently includes the Welsh Lordship, escheated to the crown, and Hugh Bardolph, in accounting to Richard I. for the issues "*de tribus partibus anni*," says this was "*antequam rex daret eundem Honorem Johanni fratri suo*" (Pipe Roll, 1st Richard I). Nevertheless the subsequent descents of both Honour and Lordship shew that they were not held as male fiefs: but, like all other property, where the law had its course, descended to the heiresses, subject to a purparty or division, and subject, of course, during a minority to the usual rights of wardship. When, some years later, the male line of the de Clares failed, but very few of their manors reverted to the crown: the great bulk of the estate was held by the King as in wardship, and so soon as it was certain that there was no male heir of the body of the last Earl, on the petition of the sisters, was divided. It is, therefore, probable that

the vesting of the estate in John was by an arrangement with Earl William, and that this was so is supported by the fact that after John divorced the heiress he gave up the estate, though with a very bad grace, and after considerable delay. The title of Earl of Gloucester was certainly a personal grant by Henry I. to his son Robert on his marriage. It could not have been a part of Mabel's heritage, for Fitz-Hamon was not an earl. With the title Henry evidently made the usual grant of the third penny of the county. The learned authors of the Peerage Reports deny this, but in the Pipe Roll of 1st Richard I, after the passage above cited, follows, "*et de xxxii libris de tercio denario comitatus de dimidio anno;*" and in the Roll of 3rd John, Almaric d'Evreux had xx l of the third penny of the same county. The usual appanage of an earl in these days was the third penny of the pleas of his county.

The limitation under which the earldom descended is obscure. It does not appear why John's marriage should have made him Earl of Gloucester, as his wife was not sole heiress of her father, although in Bristol Castle she possessed what was probably then regarded as the "*caput Honoris Gloucestræ.*" Gloucester, which she did not possess, might probably be the "*caput comitatus,*" but it was never held by the earls.

On Earl William's death Henry stepped in, as guardian of the infant coheiresses and custos of the lands. The latter he held about six years, when the issues were returned as a branch of the royal revenue. Thus, 33rd Henry II, 1186-7, Hugh Bardolph accounted for the scutages, "*quia Honor est in manu regis,*" and in the same year is an account of £43 17s. 7d. for works at Kenefit Castle, probably Kenfig, in Glamorgan, though possibly a Herefordshire fortress.

On Henry's death the wardship passed with the crown to Richard, and the accounts, besides the third penny mentioned above, shew "*et comitissæ Gloucestræ £50 pro dote et maritagio suo de dimidio anno per Ran' de Glanvill' precepto regis.*" This was the Countess Dowager. Other entries shew that Bardolf accounted for the Castle of Caermarthen and for works at Bristol Castle, as well as for certain issues from the Abbot of Keynsham. Among

the tenants Henry de Unfranvill owed £4 for his relief, and Roger de Maisi £45 for nine knight fees held of the Honour, but probably, in strictness, of the Lord of Glamorgan. Fitz-Stephen seems to have accounted for the issues of the County, Bardolf for those of the Honour. Richard held the wardship two-thirds of a year, and then, in 1189, determined it in favour of Isabel, the third sister, whom he married to his brother John, to whom she had been contracted in 1176. The accounts for 1189-90, 1st Richard I, shew for saddles, etc., for the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester and her maidens, £17 2s. 7d., and for various furs for her and the daughter of the Earl of Chester as well as for the Queen and the sister of the King of France, 73s. 4d. She had also three roserells. John held the Honour by baronial homage and service. He lost it for a time when disseized of his English lands by the sentence of the royal court, but regained it on his reconciliation with his brother. It seems to have been in the crown in the 9th Richard I, 1197-8, when William de Warene was custos of the Honour, and was collecting for Richard's ransom. The names of some of the knights in his accounts, as de Cardiff, de Granville, and de Sanford, belong both to the Honour and to the Lordship of Glamorgan.

On John's accession he became both chief and mesne lord. Madox is careful to point out that while John's own services thus became extinguished, the tenants continued to pay theirs as holding "in capite ut de Honore." Also, as an Honour was a Barony, it did not merge in the crown, as was the case with a knight's fee or a demesne manor, but was held in abeyance and distinct, and was described technically as holden "in dominio." John's marriage was opposed by Archbishop Baldwin as within the forbidden degrees, both parties descending from Henry I. While Earl of Moretaine it suited John to disregard this objection, but when he succeeded as king and had no children he revived it and obtained a divorce.

According to the Annals of Tewkesbury, John's marriage, though contracted for in 1176, with the proviso that the Pope's license was to be obtained, did not actually take place until Richard's accession in 1189. It

must have been just before the marriage, during the episcopate of William de Saltmarsh, that Archbishop Baldwin, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrensis, visited Glamorgan, preached the crusade at Llandaff, was the guest of Abbot Conan at Ewenny, and was guided across the treacherous marshes and sands between the Avan and the Nedd by Morgan ap Caradoc, Jestyn's eldest grandson, and the Lord of Avan. Richard's letter from Messina, written about the 25th January, 1191, is addressed to John Earl of Gloucester, and John so styles himself in forwarding the letter to the Archbishop, although he seldom used the title afterwards. In 1199, 30th October, he confirmed to William de Berkeley a donation made by Robert Earl of Gloucester, and soon after his marriage he, as "Comes de Moreton," or "Mortonie," granted charters of confirmation to Neath and Margam. The Neath charter has been printed, that to Margam, dated Cardiff on the Tuesday before St. Hilary, 1193, is in excellent preservation, and bears John's seal as Lord of Glamorgan, with two passant lions on his shield. It is one of a mass of similar documents in the possession of Mr. Talbot of Margam, which, if permitted to be examined, would no doubt throw much light on the early history of that abbey, and on the descent of property in the county in the twelfth century. There is also another charter by John, without date, but granted before his accession, preserved in the Cottonian MSS. (Cleopatra, A vii, 73 b), printed in the *New Monasticon* (ii, 69).

The divorce seems to have occurred in May, 1200, and John's marriage to Isabel of Angoulême followed at once, so that they were crowned at Christmas. That John retained the Lordship and Honour in his hands is evident from his grants after his accession. 22nd October, 1199, he confirmed a grant by Robert Earl of Gloucester of Eldresfield to William, son of William de Berkeley, and 18th April, 1200, a grant of Bedminster manor by the same to the same. This indeed he might have done as sovereign, but in his first year William de Falaise and Master Swern account for the issues of the Honour, and probably of the Lordship, which for this month are £223 12s. 3d. Also, 1201-2, Guy de Cancellis accounted to the crown for the scutages of the Honour of Gloucester,

levied upon 327½ fees, and the King retained also the castle and berton of Bristol. The Pipe Roll for the following year, 3rd John, 1202, has been printed. In it William de Falaise accounts for the Honour for the past year. Among the tenants who belonged also to Glamorgan are Henry de Umfranvill, who paid 12 marks on 5 fees; Roger de Meisi, 24 marcs on 4 fees; John le Sor, 36 marcs on 14 fees; Roger Corbet, 8 marcs on 1 fee; Herbert de St. Quintin, 3 marcs for 10 fees: and Milo de Sumeri, 5 marcs for 3½ fees. William de Montacute and Ralph de Cirecest' were allowed £50 for the expenses of the Countess [of Gloucester] at Bristol, by a letter from Geoffry Fitz-Peter. Keynsham Abbey paid 40d. for scutage.

In the next roll, 4th John, the fees in the Honour of Gloucester are 304¼, of which 47¼ are in Glamorgan. The Earl of Evreux held 20 fees, and the Earl of Clare 15 fees. Also Henry de Umphravill accounts for 20 marcs on 5 fees; John le Sor, 60 marks on 14 fees; and H. de St. Quintin, 50 marks on 10 fees. Also, 13th April, 1204, John confirmed certain gifts in Petersfield, Hants, by William Earl of Gloucester and Hawise his wife; and 23rd June, 1205, granted a "masagium" or habitation in Lincoln, to be held of the Earl of Gloucester and his heirs. As king he also confirmed the charters to Margam and Neath. To Margam his confirmations, four in number, are dated 15th May, 1205; a second probably in the same year; and the other 22nd July and 11th August, 1207, printed in the *Rotulus Chartarum*, as are those to Neath, 6th January, 5th August, and 11th August, 1207. Also in the *New Monasticon* (vi, 366) is a charter confirming to St. Augustin's, Bristol, the grants of Earl William between Cardiff and the Rhymny, and others by Countess Mabel, William's mother. Certain allowances, apparently not very liberal ones, were made to the lawful heiress, who retained her titular rank.

6th November, 1201, the justiciary was directed to allow the Countess of Gloucester to hold her lands in peace, "sicut antecessores;" and 30th July, 1205, "Our beloved Countess" is to have "qualibet septimana unam damam." 6th February, 1206, she has £12 for her expenses from the Exchequer; and 26th May the king

allows the reasonable expenses of the Earl (Countess) of Gloucester at Winchester. 20th March, 1207, a ton (tonellum) of wine, also charged to the Exchequer, is allowed, and certain necessary expenses for her at Sherborne, to be certified by her servant Hamo. The Pipe Roll of 8th John contains an entry of 40 marks for disseizin for Amicia, formerly Countess of Clare.

19th September, 1207, Falkes, the King's bailiff in Glamorgan, has an allowance for the repairs of the castles there; and 3rd December the Castle of Sherborne in Dorset is mentioned as belonging to the Countess, and no doubt her residence.

27th December, Falkes is informed that Gilbert de Turberville has appeased the King by the payment of a horse for his fine on relief for his land. 23rd March, 1208, Keynsham Abbey is vacant, and Gilbert de Aties is to provide the canons with food and clothing, and Falkes is to give him seizin of their land in Glamorgan. 9th April, Falkes is directed to let William de Londres have the Priory of Ewenny, which is of his fee. Falkes was the notorious Falcasius de Breauté.

10th John, 1208-9, a charter roll contains the accounts of Falkes for £100 for the Honour of Gloucester: for works at Cardiff and Neath Castles £22 10s, and 100 marks for the custody of Swansea Castle. From Gilbert de Turberville 25 marks; from the monks of Neath 50 marks and a palfrey. From the Abbot of Margam £17 16s. 6d., and from the same abbot, among the "oblata," 100 marks for having in free alms the Manors of Lalvereth and Haved Halown with appurtenances, and similarly the Manor of Pettun and appurtenances, as in the King's charter. Agnes widow of Hamelin de Torinton, a family related to the Umfravilles and Sullys, pays 20 marks. Philip de Nerberd accounts for £20 for having his land. Galfrid Whytney (?) accounts for 200 marks and a palfrey for custody of the lands and heir of Henry de Umphraville.

10th John, William son of Caswallon was allowed 1 marc for the loss of his horse. In 1210 John was in Glamorgan; 28th May and 28th August, at Morgan; 21st May, at Neath; and 29th May, at Swansea. At that time Gower seems to have been in his hands, and,

11th November 1208, he freed the English and Welsh of that Lordship from certain burthens connected with the Castle of Swansea. In 1210 Rhys and Owen, sons of Griffith ap Rhys, were sent as messengers to Falkes to try to bring about a peace ; but notwithstanding this, 12th John, 1210-11, 50 marcs were expended in strengthening Swansea Castle ; a not unnecessary outlay, for in 1211 the Welsh, under Cadwalon ap Ivor bach, burnt and plundered Glamorgan, as in 1212, Rees Vachan treated the town of Swansea. 14th John, Falkes de Breaute is quitted £200 for the farm of Glamorgan for the preceding and current years. 31st April, 1213, the King issued a brief of inquisition into the losses sustained by the Church in the late discords between the King and the Clergy of England, and that for the See of Llandaff was addressed to Richard Flandrensis of Glamorgan and Walter de Sulye. As the see was not vacant, they were probably selected as upright and independent assessors. In that year Gilbert Abbot of Margam was displaced, and was succeeded, 18th May, by John de Goldcliffe, one of the monks. Gilbert became a monk at Kirkstall, and died 12th May, 1214.

A little before this, 12th March, 1213, the King allowed to Isabel Countess of Gloucester "*rationabile testamentum quod fecit de rebus suis mobilibus*," probably with a view to her marriage. And, 16th January 1214, Peter de Cancellis is to bring safely to the King the Countess of Gloucester, now in his charge, probably at Bristol Castle.

After about thirteen years of widowhood, which, in a time when a widow with a large jointure as an inheritance seldom remained single, may, without much fear of injustice to John, be attributed to his wish to retain the earldom in his own hands, Countess Isabel married Geoffrey Fitz-Peter or de Mandeville, the justiciary, who, on the death of his father, 2nd October, 1213, became Earl of Essex, and had livery of his paternal estates. No doubt the marriage took place very soon afterwards, for 24th January, 1214, the Exchequer was to allow £13 15s. 8d., to be spent in robes for the Countess of Gloucester and her maidens, and by the 28th they were married, and Geoffrey had certainly been

admitted to her lands, seeing that in February he was ordered to be disseized, because he had not paid the fees due.

The fine for the marriage was 20,000 marcs, and his relief on taking up the Earldom of Essex was a similar sum, to be paid in four equal parts. Probably he contrived to pay the first instalment at once, for, 9th and 10th of August 1214, the King informs the sheriffs of thirty-two counties that he has given Isabel to Geoffrey de Mandeville to wife, and that he is to have the whole Honour of Gloucester, and to be installed in all Earl William's rights, except the castle, vill, and forest of Bristol, and the vill of Campden. The seizin of Geoffrey's own lands in Bucks was not given till the 23rd of June. 21st November in the same year, 1214, he witnessed John's charter, concerning the freedom of episcopal elections, as "*Gaufrido de Mandevillæ, Comite Gloucestrie et Essexie*," and as "*Comes Gloucestrie*" he was one of the twenty five barons chosen under the Great Charter, 15th June, 1215. In January in that year he had witnessed a royal proclamation as Earl of Gloucester and Essex, and a late convention as Earl of Essex and Gloucester. Nicholas, however, dates his assumption of the Earldom of Gloucester from 1215. In the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202, £50 is allowed for the expenses of the Countess of Gloucester at Bristol, by two briefs of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, and another £20 for the same expenses, "*predictæ comitissæ*," also "*per breve G: f: Peter*." At this time the Honour contained 327³/₁₀ fees, besides 20 fees which could not be identified.

Geoffrey's usual style was Earl of Essex and Gloucester, and that of his wife Countess of Gloucester and Essex. Her charter to Basalleg, printed by Hearn (*A. de Domesham* ii, 609), combines the two, and commences "*Ego, Isabella, Comitissa Gloucestrie et Essexie, consensu et assensu domini mei Galfridi de Mandevilla Comitis Essexie et Gloucestrie*." The divorce alienated the whole Gloucester interest from John, who also so mismanaged the marriage as to throw the new earl also into opposition, which continued during the few months that intervened before his death, childless, before June, 1216, in London, in consequence of an accident at a tournament. John at

once, 19th June, granted to Savary de Mauleon all the lands which had belonged to Geoffrey de Mandeville and his brother William, then probably in arms against the King. John himself died 19th October, 1216. The accounts shew that of the 20,000 marcs Earl Geoffrey had paid half only, and the remainder, being a charge upon his estate, was demanded at the hands of Earl William, his brother and successor, as late as 12th May, 1226; and long afterwards, 18th June, 1242, Letters Patent were issued, allowing the remainder of the fine of 20,000 marks made by Geoffrey de Mandeville with King John, for the marriage of Isabel Countess of Gloucester, to be paid by annual instalments of £40 10s., out of the third penny of the County of Essex. While a widow, Isabel granted a charter to Caerleon, but she speedily became the third wife of Hubert de Burgh, then justiciary. The date of this marriage is not recorded, but it must have been immediate, for, 13th August, 1217, all the lands of the Countess of Gloucester were committed to Hubert de Burgh (Pat. Roll, 1st Henry III, m. 4), and in the same year Hubert had livery of Walden, a part of Isabel's dower, and, 17th September, the King informed the sheriffs of nine counties that the Countess had come in to his fealty and service, and was to be placed as she stood before the war between the King and the Barons of England. This was under Henry III, and just after the battle of Lincoln. She died almost immediately, for, 15th October, was an order as to the custody of her land, she being dead (R. R., 1st Henry III, m. 1); and 30th October, she, which must mean her estate, was, called upon to pay scutage. 5th Henry III, Hubert married Margaret of Scotland. He does not appear as Earl of Gloucester, probably he had not time to fulfil the necessary formalities. He was created Earl of Kent 11th February, 1227, with remainder to his heirs by Margaret.

Isabel having died childless, the inheritance passed, de jure, to the son of her eldest sister, Mabel, who had married Almeric or Aymar de Montfort, Comte d'Evreux, who as "*Americus Comes Ebroicarum*" tested a charter by Henry I to Conches in 1130, and is named in a Bull of Pope Eugenius in 1152. He died 1196,

while the Earldom of Gloucester was in the hands of the crown, leaving a son, also Almeric, whose position with regard to his mother's right is obscure. Mabel is probably the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, to whom and her maidens was allowed, in the Pipe Roll of 7th Richard I, 1196, "£17 2s. 7d., and for vair furs about 37s., and for a Roserell £6." Sandford says, Henry II gave her £100 portion, because her father had passed her over and bestowed the earldom upon John. And the Pipe Roll, 4th John, already quoted, shews that her two sisters were allowed a share, though a small one, of the inheritance, the Earl of Evreux having 20, and the Earl of Clare 25 knight's fees.

The date of the elder Earl Almeric's marriage is not recorded, but the younger earl, in May 1200, at the instance of King John, ceded his right in Evreux to Philip Augustus, for which he had an equivalent. The cession is the subject of a document given in the *Gallia Christiana* (xi, p. Inst.), which begins "Ego Almericus Comes Gloucestrie," and states that he is acting "de mandato domini mei Johannis illustris regis Angliæ," who "in sufficiens excambium inde donavit." William Marechal is one of the witnesses. This was in May, 1200, the very month of John's divorce from Almeric's aunt, and shews that, having himself no longer an interest in the title, he was disposed to allow the son of the elder sister to assume it, as he continued to do, and was allowed some payments of the property. Thus, in the Pipe Roll, 3rd John, 1202. William de Falaise accounts for 112s. 7d. issues from the barton outside Bristol, "before it was given to Earl Almaric;" and by the same accounts "Almaric Comes Ebroic:" was allowed £20 out of the third penny of the county. Also, 26th January, 1205, Falaise as custos of the Honour was directed to give to Earl Almaric, Bradested; and 31st April, Petersfield and Mapledurham; and 30th December, Burford; and 16th August, 1206, certain other manors, all which had probably been his mother's jointure. Also, he occasionally witnesses royal charters, sometimes as "A: comite Gloucestrie," and sometimes as "A: comite Ebroic'" as in 1204-5; nor is there anything in the subject of the documents to account for this variety. No docu-

ment has been discovered in which he uses the titles together, nor does he ever appear as Lord of Glamorgan or of the Honour of Gloucester. He seems to have died 1212-13, and was buried at Keynsham. Some further obscurities arise out of the disposition of the manors above mentioned. 20th November, 1213, Gilbert de Clare is to have seizin of two parts of the land which Aumeric Earl of Evreux had in Merlaw and Hameldon, co. Bucks, and Melisent his widow the third part. Also, 15th December, the Countess of Gloucester is to have her chattels in these manors; and 4th January, 1214, the executors of the will of "A: comitis de Ebroic'" are to have his chattels in Thornbury, Petersfield, and Mapledurham. Also, 15th March, 1217, William de Cantelupe junior and Melisant, who was the wife of Aumaric Earl of Evreux, are to have her dower in Mapledurham and Petersfield, which she had from the Earl her husband. Also, 2nd October, Gilbert de Clare was to give to William de Cantelupe and Melisant his wife possession of Merlaw, as part of her dower, and he is to answer to the King for having disseized her of it. Finally, in 1215, about the 2nd of July, "Melisanta comitissa de Ebroill," appoints as her attorney Henry de Neford, in a plea concerning land, between the Countess, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Prior of Dunstable, Geoffrey de Mandeville, and Gilbert de Clare. The churchmen are probably trustees, and Geoffrey and Gilbert represented the other sisters.

It appears from Pere Anselm's account (*Hist. Geneal.*, &c., vii, 74), which, however, is full of errors, that Almeric, evidently the son, married secondly Melesinda, daughter of Hugh de Gournay, who is doubtless the Melisant mentioned above. It is not improbable that the manors were originally settled on Mabel, that on her death they came to her son Almeric, and that in 1205 he was getting them re-settled on his marriage. The ordinary accounts make Mabel die before 1199, and her son, childless, in 1226, but the above entries shew that he was dead in 1213, which may account for Isabel's marriage, and her husband's assumption of the earldom in 1214. Thus the succession of the Earls of Gloucester from the

death of Earl William was John Earl of Moretain, Almeric Comte d'Evreux, and Geoffrey Earl of Essex.

The death of Earl Geoffrey in 1216 and of Countess Isabel, probably in 1217, cleared the way for the succession, and makes it probable that the Annals of Margam are correct in stating that Gilbert de Clare assumed the earldom in 1217, although Nicholas places that event in 1226. He was certainly the Earl of Gloucester to whom the King sent a messenger at a cost of 6d., 9th March, 1220, and another, who being sent to Clare, was paid 1s., 17th April, 1222, and who, 19th February, 1221, was rated for the scutage of Biham. He also appears in the great charter of Henry III. as Earl of Gloucester.

However or by whom the Lordship may have been held during the forty-three years that elapsed from the death of Earl William in 1173 to that of the Earl of Essex in 1216, after the latter event it certainly vested *de jure* in the son of Amice, the second sister, who alone left issue, and it must be allowed that the new dynasty was one very capable of upholding and extending the title and inheritance of which it thus became the heir. The house of Clare ruled in Glamorgan for four generations, during a period of eighty-eight years, from 1226 to 1314, including the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and a third part of that of Edward II, his son. The long reign of Henry III, the weakness and vacillation of his character and conduct, and the general dissatisfaction with his foreign relatives and favourites, gave great cause and great encouragement to the nobles to rebel, and at various times, and in the foremost rank of the disaffected, were the Earls of Gloucester and Pembroke, the former in the male line and the latter in the female, the representatives of the house of Clare, and the chief lords of the south and west Wales marches. Their territory extended almost from Pembroke to Chepstow, including much of Cardigan and a large slice of nether Gwent. Their only rivals, the Barons Braose of Gower, Lords of Brecknock and Abergavenny, were far too violent to have any permanent weight, or to interfere seriously with the ambition of the house of Clare. Under William Mareschal the elder, Lord of Chepstow and Pembroke, and the heir of Strongbow in Ireland, the Lords of the March were kept in tolerable

order, but his death left the King without restraint and the succeeding Earls Mareschal and of Gloucester with ample excuse, if not sufficient reason, for taking refuge in open rebellion.

The history of the house of Clare belongs quite as much to that of England as of their Welsh Lordships, and although their near relationship to the Mareschals, and their differences with the sovereign, caused them to rely much upon their position as marchers, they do not seem to have resided much at Cardiff, or to have pursued any steady policy, either of peace or war, with regard to the Welsh.

GISLEBERT Crispin, the real founder of the Clare family, was the son of GODFRID or Goisfred, Comte d'Eu and de Brionne, a natural son of RICHARD the elder, Duke of Normandy. In the foundation charter of Bec Abbey, about 1034, he describes himself as "Gislebertus Brionensis Comes, primi Ricardi Normannorum ducis nepos, ex filio Consule Godefrido." These Norman earldoms are involved in much obscurity. Gislebert could scarcely have been Earl of the territory of Brionne, for his son continued to use the title of Comes after Brionne had been alienated. Probably it was personal. The soubriquet of Crispin was borne by another, also distinguished, Norman family, of whose founder the Monk of Bec records that he had "capillos crispus et rigidos, atque sursum erectos, et ut ita dicam, rebursos ad modum pini ramorum, qui sæpe tendunt sursum." Hence the name of "Crispinus, quasi crispus pinus," and such we may suppose to have been the character of the "chevelure" of Godfrid's immediate descendants. The county of Eu was taken from Gislebert by his kinsman Duke Richard II, and given to Gislebert's uncle, William. Brionne he retained, and Sap, said to be so called from a "sapin," or fir tree, planted in front of the church there. He was one of the young William's governors, but was assassinated in 1035. His sons were Richard and Baldwin, who, with his brother "Ricardus filius Comitis Gisleberti," witnessed the conveyance charter to Bury Abbey in 1081. (*N. Mon.*, iii, 141). Baldwin was Seigneur de Maule, and called also "de Sap," or "le Viscomte," or

"d'Exeter." From him the Earls of Devon inherited Okehampton. His second son Robert had Brionne.

RICHARD Fitz-Gislebert was also called de Bienfaite, not, as often said, from Benefield in Northamptonshire, a manor held, as Baker has shewn, by Richard Engaine, but from a Norman benefice, and de Clare, and de Tunbridge, from his two principal English fiefs. On his father's murder he and his brother fled to Flanders, and returned thence when Matilda married Duke William, who gave him Bienfaite and Orbec. He also held Brionne. He accompanied William to England, was present at Hastings, and was richly recompensed in English lands. His possessions lay in the counties of Beds, Cambridge, Devon, Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Suffolk, Surrey, and Wilts. In the Survey he is styled indiscriminately Ricardus filius Gisleberti, Ricardus filius Comitiss Gisleberti, Ricardus de Tonbridge, and Ricardus de Clara. His Kentish land seems to have been mainly confined to the Leuca or Lowy of Tonbridge, but it is remarkable that neither Tonbridge nor the equally important Barony of Hastings are named in Domesday. Dugdale says he obtained Tunbridge by exchange for Brionne with Archbishop Stigand, but this is exceedingly improbable. That the Leuca was in some way connected with Canterbury is certain, from the claim set up for it by Becket, on the ground that church lands were inalienable. The controversy, however, seems rather to have related to the castle than to the lands, which the de Clares seem always to have accepted as held by grand serjeanty of the See. Tonbridge and Clare contained ancient English fortresses of the first class.

Fitz-Gilbert's restless spirit was not content with 176 manors in England: he burned for further acquisitions, and invaded South Wales, where he conquered Cardigan, but met with his death, being slain at Llanthony by Yorworth, brother of Howel of Caerleon, about 1091. He was buried at St. Neots, and it is recorded of him, "*Qui in re militari tempore Conquestoris omnes sui temporis magnates præcipit* (Cott. MS., Vitell., F 4, f 7).

Earl Richard married Rohaise, a daughter, and eventually one of the two coheirs of Walter Giffard Earl of Buckingham by Ermengarde Flaitel. This lady appears

in Domesday, where mention is made of the "Terra Rothais uxoris Ricardi filii Gisleberti," in St. Neots, and she afterwards, in 1113, gave the Manor of St. Neots to the Abbey there, of which she was reputed the second foundress. She and her husband transplanted a colony of French monks from Bec, exchanging them for the rebellious Englishmen, whom they imprisoned in Normandy. Her charter (*New Monasticon* iii, 472) mentions her husband, sons, and daughters. These were: 1, Gislebert. 2, Robert of Dunmow, who married Maud de St. Liz, and died 31st Henry I. He was ancestor of the family of Fitz-Walter. 3, Roger de Bienfaite Lord of Orbec and du Hommet, who supported Duke Robert in 1080, but was afterwards attached to Rufus and Henry, whose life he saved at the battle of Brenneville, near Andelys, 1119. He died childless. 4, Walter of Nether Gwent, the founder of Tintern Abbey in 1131. He also died childless. In their mother's charter their order is Roger, Walter, and Robert. 5, Richard, Abbot of Ely, died 1107. There were also two daughters, who married Raoul de Tillieres, and Baudry le Teuton of Balgenzio.

Rohaise married secondly Eudo Dapifer, builder of Colchester Castle, and founder of St. John's Abbey there, where she is buried.

GISLEBERT, mostly styled "de Tonbridge," but "Comes de Clara" in his son's charter to Bury Abbey. He also held his father's conquest in Cardigan, and had Aberystwith. His English predecessor Ælfric, son of Withgar, had founded a chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist, with seven secular canons, in the Castle of Clare, whom this earl replaced by monks from Bec. He married Alix, daughter of Rainald, Comte de Clermont in Beauvoisis, a benefactor to Thorney Abbey. They had (1) Richard. (2) Gilbert, called Strongbow, who reconquered Cardigan, and inherited Chepstow and broad lands in Monmouthshire from his uncles Roger and Walter. He was created Earl of Pembroke in 1138. He died 1148, and was buried at Tintern. By Elizabeth, sister of Waleran, Comte de Meulan, who, says Anselm, had been mistress to Henry I, he had Richard Strongbow, the celebrated invader of Ireland, and ancestor, in the female line, of the

Mareschals, Earls of Pembroke. (3) Walter de Sap. (4) Hervé. (5) Baldwin, who adhered to Stephen's cause, and with his brother Richard witnessed the conqueror's charter to Bury Abbey,(?) and gave to the Monks of Bec, Palletune juxta Sap (*N. Mon.*, vi,—). (6) Louise, married Raoul, Seigneur de Coldon, living 1113.

RICHARD Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Clare, created Earl of Hertford. Clare seems to have been one of these personal earldoms like Warrene, Ferrars, and Giffard, which did not represent a county, and was not even annexed to land, for although Clare was a Manor and afterwards an Honour, it does not seem ever to have been regarded as a territorial earldom. In the return in the Black Book of the Exchequer the Earl of Clare prefixes his return "Carta de Honore Clar" without mention of himself. When it became the custom to adopt a surname, Gislebert or Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Comes, became gradually known by that of the chief seat of his power, and it is probable that his correct designation would have been, not "Comes de Clara," but "Gislebert de Clara, Comes."

The title of Hertford was altogether different. This was a regular earldom, representing a county, and endowed with the third penny from issues of the pleas of the county. Why that title was selected is unknown, for Hertford town and castle did not belong to the family, nor were they specially interested in the shire. Indeed they seem to have held at that time but one manor in it, that of St. Wandon; nor were they even sheriffs, for that office was held by the de Magnavilles. The third penny however had nothing to do with land. It was a grant by patent from the crown and not entered upon by seizin. It was the official fee of the English earls before the conquest. The date of the creation of the earldom of Hertford is uncertain, but the reservation of the third penny in the fee-farm rents paid by the sheriff of the county shews it to have been either late in the reign of Henry I or very early in that of Stephen. As to the limitation, the patent for the earldom is not extant, but possibly it would be held now that like that of Oxford it was confined to the heirs male of the body, because on the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1314 his sisters did not take it. Gloucester however, almost a

contemporary title, descended, as has been seen, on three occasions to heirs female, and by the courtesy of England was assumed by their husbands, Earls Almaric, de Magnaville, and de Clare. King John, who assumed the title with the junior coheirress, is said to have been created Earl of Gloucester, but that this was unnecessary is clear, for d'Evreux and de Clare, whose mothers were the other sisters, successively bore, and the latter transmitted, the title. Nevertheless on the death of Gilbert de Clare, Gloucester, like Hertford, was held to be extinct. The Despensers, husband and son of the elder coheir, did not claim it, and Audley, the husband of the next coheir, obtained it only by a new creation, as did a more remote Despenser. It seems therefore that the practice had changed, and that earldoms which had formerly passed with heirs female did so no longer. It must be remembered with respect to the earldom of Hertford, that there had been no early opportunity of proving its limitation, as the male line had never failed.

Earl Richard seems to have paid much attention to his South Wales possessions, and he, like his grandsire, met with his death from the natives, it is said from Morgan ap Owen, in the disturbances that broke out after the death of Henry I., in 1135. His death is supposed to have occurred in 1139, so that his enjoyment of the title of Hertford must have been brief. He was buried at St. Neots. He married Christiana, sister of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, whose name, unknown to Dugdale, occurs in her husband's charter to Bury Abbey. They had, 1, Gilbert, 2, Roger, successively Earls, 3, Walter, 4, Alice, who married Cadwaladr, second son of Griffith ap Conan, Prince of North Wales, one of those ill-assorted matches, by which the Marcher lords sought to consolidate their incohesive power. It must be this Alice of whom Fitz-Stephen says, writing of Earl Roger, "*Qui et pulcherrimam totius regni sororem habebat, quam rex aliquando concupierat.*"

Earl Richard, in 1134, removed the monks of Bec from his castle of Clare to the adjacent hill of Stoke. It appears from an *Inspeximus* (Pat. 1 Hen. IV, P.S. m. 25) of the confirmation charter of Henry II., that Earl Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, gave for his services, to

Walter Bloet the vill of Raglan and its appurtenances, to him and his heirs, to be held by the service of one knight's fee.

GILBERT, Earl of Clare and Hertford. In 1146 he was a hostage at Stephen's court, for his uncle, the Earl of Chester, to whom, however, he fled. He died childless, in 1151-2, nearly two years before Stephen, and was succeeded by his brother.

ROGER, Earl of Clare and Hertford. The title of Clare seems gradually to have been dropped, as the family name came into use, and, finally, the Earls are invariably described as of Hertford, and, after the acquisition of the Gloucester lands, as of Gloucester and Hertford, the former title dating from Henry I., the latter from Stephen.

He witnessed a Bury charter, printed in the Coll. Topog. et Gen. (i, 589), and there dated 1154, no doubt in error for 1134. Earl Roger married Maud, daughter and heiress of James de Hilary, and by her had Richard, his successor, and Isabel, who married William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and thus strengthened the tie of blood between two powerful families, whose territorial interests were already also closely connected. Earl Roger seems to have had a son, James, who suffered from some congenital disease, expected to be fatal. The Earl offered 40 marcs to whoever should cure him, but would not allow an operation. When he was two years old his mother took him to Becket's shrine, and implored the aid of the martyr, who cured him in three days. This was succeeded by another complaint, of which he was supposed to die, and was laid out. His mother, however, undeterred by the rebukes of the Countess of Warwick, again implored the aid of the martyr, and again with success. (*Bened. Mirac.*, St. Thomæ, p. 255). Earl Roger married a second wife, whose name is not recorded.

In Earl Roger's time, Becket claimed the Estate and Lewy or Honour of Tunbridge. "pridem a Cantuariensi alienatum ecclesia;" a claim which gave great offence to both king and baronage, and which was resisted, as regarded the castle, by the Earl. The holding of the Lewy seems to have been admitted, but did not satisfy the Archbishop, who indeed also claimed Rochester Castle.

The question was not finally settled till 1264, when a survey of the Lewy was executed, and the terms of the homage agreed to between Archbishop Boniface and Earl Richard. The Earls held as Butlers and Sewers, or as Stewards, and in the one capacity had the manors of Bradstreet, Vielston, Horsmandene, Melton, and Petter, and in the other, Tunbridge and Handlo. The fees of office allowed by the Archbishops were splendid. The Homage seems to have been regularly paid, and often in person, at the enthronization of each Archbishop, and as such is specially noted at those of Archbishops Kilwardby, Peckham and Winchester. It was carried on by the de Clare heiresses, and Hugh d'Audley paid homage to Archbishop Stratford, in 1333, and the Earl of Stafford to Sudbury, in 1375. The last act of homage seems to have been paid to Archbishop Warham, when he entertained Henry VIII. and Charles V., at Canterbury, in 1520. On that occasion Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, one of the de Clare heirs, discharged the duties of sewer in person.

RICHARD de Clare, Earl of Clare and of Hertford, witnessed, as Richard Fitz-Gislebert, Henry II's confirmation of the Earldom of Oxford to Aubrey de Vere. He also, as Richard Earl of Clare, witnessed letters by Richard I, 20th March, 1190, and 17th April, 1194, and another document, 7th June, 1199. 1st John he married Amice, daughter and coheir of William Earl of Gloucester, whose inheritance neither he nor his wife lived to possess. To her, as to her sister Mabel, Henry II. gave £100 wedding portion. The marriage took place before the 1st of John, in which year she pleaded that by a precept of the Pope she had been separated from her husband Richard Earl of Clare, on the ground of consanguinity, and she claimed Sudbury, which had been hers at her marriage (*Abb. Plac.*, p. 25). In the 4th of John she repeated the claim, and 7th and 8th of John claimed the advowson of St. Gregories, Sudbury, which the Prioress of Eton said had been granted to Eton by Earl William, Amice's father (*Ib.* pp. 51, 92). 15th John, Amice Countess of Clare again claimed Sudbury, where she founded a hospital. No doubt the marriage difficulty had been got over by a dispensation from Rome. Earl

Richard's seal is extant, and bears the three chevrons, afterwards so widely known in South Wales, and adopted by the Lords of Avene, the Earl's principal Welsh Baron. In his time King Richard divided the Giffard heritage, giving to Earl Richard the caput and estates in England, and to William Mareschal those in Normandy. It is to be remarked that neither heir made any claim to the earldom of Buckingham.

Earl Richard seems to have died in 1217, when, 28th November, Walter Fitz-Humphrey was to have seizin of his lands in Kent, "*salvo rationabili testamento ejusdem Comititis*" . . . "*teste ipso Comite;*" probably the young Earl. Similar instructions were sent into other counties. The Earl was buried at Clare. Countess Amice seems to have died before 1226, the date of the death of her nephew Aymaric d'Evreux. Their children were: 1, Gilbert; 2, Richard, killed in London, 24th May, 1228, and who probably is the Roger de Clare, Earl Gilbert's brother, who was allowed £12 on the 11th February, 1226, for his expenses in the King's service with the Earl of Cornwall in Poitou; 3, Rose, married Roger de Mowbray. The chronicles state that the daughter of the Earl of Clare in 1217 married Rhys Bahan (Vachan). She may have been a natural daughter.

GILBERT de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, is stated in the Annals of Margam to have taken up the earldom, and to have confirmed the abbey charters in 1217, a statement corroborated by Gilbert's witnessing, as Earl of Gloucester, in 1218, the declaration that the signature of Henry III. to public documents should not be valid until he came of age. Also, 25th January, 1218, Hugh de Vivonne was ordered to give up the forest of Keynsham to the Earl of Gloucester, and, probably in consideration for his "*regni novitas,*" the barons of the Exchequer were "*ponere in respectu*" the Earl's scutage then due, until after Easter.

With his paternal possessions and those of his mother Amice, Earl Gilbert inherited those of his grandmother Maud de St. Hilary, and a moiety of the Honour of Giffard. The inheritance, as shewn by his scutages, 7th Henry, extended into nineteen counties. As early as 12th John he fortified Builth Castle, and took an active

part against the King. He was one of the twenty-five barons excommunicated by Pope Innocent in 1215, but at this time he was a party to the negotiations for peace, and 9th November had a safe conduct from the King, which was repeated 27th March, 1216, after the fall of Colchester. He sided with the barons at Lincoln 20th May, 1217, and was taken prisoner by his kinsman the Earl Mareschal, who afterwards married him to his daughter and eventual coheir Isabel, a lady whose personal attractions probably made the young captive a willing suitor. The annals of Tewkesbury give 1214 as the date of the marriage, but this is almost certainly an error. In 1216 (?) he was assessed for a relief at £100 for each of his Honours of Gloucester and Clare, and at £50 for his half Honour, probably of Giffard, the reliefs being levied upon each Honour as on a Barony, without reference to its actual value, since Clare contained 140 fees and Gloucester over 327. He was also assessed upon his Lordship of Glamorgan, which then contained $27\frac{1}{4}$ fees, of which William de Kardiff held one; John le Sor, 14; Thomas de la Mare, 10; and Thomas Blund half a fee. Probably, however, some of these holdings were in England, for most of the Glamorgan barons held also of the Honour of Gloucester.

In 1218 died Clement, Abbot of Neath, to whom succeeded Gervais; and, 12th November, died Henry, Bishop of Llandaff, who was succeeded, October, 1219, by William, Prior of Goldcliff. The Earl much desired to recover the family possession of Bristol Castle, and Hugh de Vivonne was directed to restore to him the Berton of Bristol, the wood of Furcas, and the chase of Keynsham. This however, though the King's officer, he refused to do until he was provided with the means of maintaining the castle, for which the council had promised him £100 in rent and 100 marcs in silver, nothing of which he had as yet received. The order was repeated over and over again, "multi toties," in the course of 1219-20, but without effect. The Earls of Gloucester never recovered Bristol Castle.

25th November, 1218. Earl William de Magnaville and Earl Gilbert were allowed to settle, by a concord, a question relating to lands which they held together in

wardship, and which evidently arose out of the affairs of Magnaville's brother Geoffrey. 6th Henry III., 1221-2, Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, is ordered not to go to Wales to take the castle of Dinas Powis, as the king had sent Robert de Vallibus to receive and deliver it to the Earl. This was on the death of Somery, Baron of Dudley, who was Lord of Dinas Powis, and was evidently an attempt by the King to obtain "primer seisin" in Glamorgan. In the next year, 14th March, 1223, the Earl Mareschal's bailiffs had a safe conduct from Henry de Chetham to go to Dinas Powis. The Earl paid scutage about this time for a Welsh expedition, and in 1224 the Welsh invaded Glamorgan, killing certain farm servants and a shepherd's boy. Morgan ap Owen burned a house, belonging to Neath Abbey, with above 400 sheep, and killed several farm servants, and dangerously wounded a monk and some lay brethren. In 1223-4, 8th Henry III., the Earl had a safe conduct to attend the King. 15th July, 1224, he was to have four dolia of the King's best wine, at cost price; an order repeated the same day, in the Close Rolls; and 23rd September, he was to have five dolia more from the wine retained at Bristol.

1st January, 1225, the Earl is to have from the Sheriff of Gloucester £20, as his ancestors had, "nomine comitatus," evidently a part of the third penny, as the Sheriff of Herts received a similar precept.

13th February, he is to have from the Constable of Kenilworth one hundred "bresnas" for his vivaries at Tewkesbury, "et de shepton instaurand." A messenger despatched to him by the King cost 12d. 28th August, the Bailiffs of Caermarthen are to allow the Earl to hold the lands late of Thomas de Londres, of which he has the wardship, with his daughter. This was probably as chief Lord of Ogmores. Eva de Tracy had her dower out of the de Londres lands, in Wilts. Wardships and their sale were a great source of the Royal power and income, and Earl Gilbert, 3rd October, has that of the heirs of Walter de Tailly, with the "maritagium," and Waleran Teutonicus, and Sybil, his wife, are to give up the daughter.

In 1226 the Welsh burned St. Nicholas, Newcastle, and Laleston, and killed certain men. 29th October, the

Earl paid 2,000 marcs for license to marry his daughter Amice, then six years old, to Baldwin de Redvers, and £200 in land was allowed out of the estates of William, Earl of Devon, Baldwin's grandfather, presumably for her sustenance, until she came of age. In this year, 2nd November, the Earl's daughter Isabel was born. A joint messenger, sent by the King to the Earl, and the Earl of Chester, cost 15d. In this year the Earl joined the Earl of Cornwall against the King.

In 1227, 16th February, William, Earl of Devon, was dead, and the Earl had license to hold his lands. In this year the Welsh burned the Margam grange of Pennuth, with many animals, and killed many men; also the grange of Rossaulin, with many sheep, and drove away eleven cows, and killed a farm servant. Also they cleared the grange of Theodore of animals, and burned several horses and great flocks of sheep, the property of Margam. Notwithstanding the line taken by the Earl, he seems to have kept on some sort of terms with the Court, for, 4th September, he is one of the Lords accredited to the Princes of the Empire, at Antwerp. 18th May, 1228, the Earl's son, William, was born, and his brother Richard was killed in London. Kenfig was burned by lightning, and a horse killed. In this year also the Earl captured Morgan Gam, of Avene, and sent him, fettered by the feet, into England, for security. This was mild treatment compared with what Morgan ap Cadwaladr met with, in the same year, from his nephew, Howel ap Meredith, who put out his eyes, and otherwise mutilated him. This Howel, in 1229, burned St. Nicholas and St. Hilary. In that year Morgan Gam was set free, giving hostages for his conduct, which, however, did not prevent him from burning Neath, in 1231. In this year the Earl is said to have discovered mines of silver, lead, and iron, in Wales. The two former have never proved profitable; the latter were well known to, and, to some extent, worked by the Romans. 15th Henry III., the Abbot of Margam paid 100s for having his charter confirmed.

In 1230 Henry made a disastrous expedition into Brittany, and of the magnates who attended him, many, says Wikes, died before his return, and some after it.

Among the latter was Earl Gilbert, who died at Penros in Brittany, 25th October, 1230. His funeral was conducted with great state. The corpse was landed at Plymouth and brought across Devon and Somerset to Cranbourn, and thence to Tewkesbury, large doles being given to the poor on the road as it passed, and silken cloths, "*panni cerici*" to the religious houses. The procession reached Tewkesbury on the Saturday before St. Martin's Day, and on Sunday the corpse was laid, temporarily, in its sepulchre before the high altar. The final burial was witnessed by the Abbots of Tewkesbury, Tintern, Flaxley, Keynsham, and Tureford,? and an immense assemblage of persons of both sexes, lay and clerical. The Earl seems to have left two wills, one dated Suwicksuper-Mare, 30th April, and the other in Brittany, 23rd October; both in the year of his death. To Tewkesbury he bequeathed a silver gilt cross; and, during the minority of his son, the wood of Muth, by Severn-side, which was confirmed by Henry III in 1232, and reverted to the earldom in 1243. The monks laid a stone over his grave.

In the *Monasticon* (*N. M.*, vi, 453) is a confirmation by Earl Gilbert to Keynsham of a burgage in Cardiff, "which was Goye's," and another which had belonged to John Fitz-Baldwin, and of the whole park, fishing, and fishery of Rumeysa (*Rhymny*), and both the vivaries of Raz (*Roath*), with the mill and great vivary under Kibwr, and all the land of Raz, and all the forest of Kibwr, to be held as under Earl William, the grantor's grandsire.

The children of Gilbert and Isabel were: 1, Richard; 2, William, born 18th May, 1228, knighted in London at Christmas, 1250; 3, Gilbert, born 12th September, 1229, a Clerk in Orders; 4, Amice married Baldwin de Redvers; 5, Agnes; 6, Isabel, born 2nd November, 1226, married May 1240, Robert de Bruce of Annandale, who died 1295.

Countess Isabel married, secondly, 30th March, 1231, Richard Earl of Cornwall, much against the will of the king his brother. She was, says Wikes, a woman of marvellous beauty. She was known as Isabel Countess of Gloucester and Hertford, Cornwall and Poitou, and she died in childbirth at Berkhamstead, 17th January, 1239 or 1240, and her mortal spoils were divided between three

communities ; her bowels went to Missenden ; her heart, in a gilded urn to Tewkesbury ;

" Pars melior toto fuit . . . pro corpore missa "

was the Tewkesbury view of the partition. The body went to Beaulieu. She founded a chantry for Earl Gilbert and herself at Market Street, and Earl Richard founded one for her at Wallingford. Her will disposed of a curious collection of relics. Her epitaph at Tewkesbury, where she herself had always wished to be buried, was as follows :—

*Postrema voce legavit cor Comitissa
Pars melior toto fuit huc pro corpore missa
Hæc se divisit Dominum recolendo Priorem
Huc cor quod misit, verum testatur amorem—
Hiis simul ecclesiæ sanctæ suffragia prosint.
Ut simul in requie cœlesti cum Domino sint.*

The ancestors of Earl Gilbert had, for eight generations, been very considerable persons, both in Normandy and England ; and their next of kin, of the line of Strongbow, now represented through a female by the Earls Mareschal, were scarcely their inferiors in power. Their other cousins, who continued in the male line, as Barons Fitz-Walter, also held large estates, and had at that time reached the climax of their power in the person of Robert Fitz-Walter, styled by King John's barons " Marshal of the army of God and the holy Church." In addition to these, their agnates, the de Clares, were allied by marriage to the Earls of Chester and other leading nobles. Besides all these sources of power, Earl Gilbert had received a great accession in the large inheritance derived from his mother, making him, by the bend sinister, which was then scarcely regarded as a discredit, of near kin to the sovereign, and endowing him not only with the valuable Honour of Gloucester, but with the Lordship of Glamorgan, the privileges of which were of a regal character, and the position of which, securing to him an almost impregnable retreat, gave him great weight in the perpetual struggles between the Baronage and the Crown. From this time the house of Clare became the acknowledged head of the Baronage. Great personal qualities, such as those possessed by the elder William Mareschal or by Simon de Montfort, brought

them at times to the front; but for steady hereditary influence supported, on the whole, by moderation of conduct, and always by great personal valour in the field, no family at all approached to that of the Earls of Gloucester and Hertford.